

SENATE RECORD VOTE ANALYSIS

104th Congress
1st Session

Vote No. 525

October 27, 1995, 11:48 a.m.
Page S-15991 Temp. Record

BALANCED BUDGET RECONCILIATION/Arctic National Wildlife Refuge

SUBJECT: **Balanced Budget Reconciliation Act of 1995 . . . S. 1357. Domenici motion to table the Baucus amendment No. 2988.**

ACTION: MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO, 51-48

SYNOPSIS: As reported, S. 1357, the Balanced Budget Reconciliation Act of 1995, will result in a balanced budget in seven years, as scored by the Congressional Budget Office (CBO). The bill will also provide a \$245 billion middle-class tax cut, \$141.4 billion of which will be to provide a \$500 per child tax credit.

The Baucus amendment would strike the authorization for oil and gas development in the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge (ANWR) and would strike requirements to sell naval petroleum reserves.

The amendment was offered after all debate time had expired. However, by unanimous consent, 1 minute of debate was permitted on the amendment. Additionally, arguments for and against the sale were inserted into the record. Following debate, Senator Domenici moved to table the amendment. Generally, those favoring the motion to table opposed the amendment; those opposing the motion to table favored the amendment.

Those favoring the motion to table contended:

In 1980 Congress set aside 19 million acres as the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge (ANWR), which is an area equal to the size of Maine. Of that acreage, 8 million acres were designated as wilderness. Within the 11 million acres which were not designated as wilderness, Congress set aside 1.5 million acres for study for their potential for oil and gas production. If ANWR oil production is permitted, within that 1.5 million acres, the "footprint" of the proposed oil development will be a minuscule 3,000 acres. In other words, less than 1 out of 8,000 acres of ANWR will be affected by oil drilling, and none of those acres will be in areas designated as wilderness. Further, for those Senators who may have been gulled into believing the nonsense about the 8 million acres of ANWR which are designated as wilderness as being the last great wilderness area in the United States, we inform them that Alaska itself has

(See other side)

| YEAS (51) | | | NAYS (48) | | | NOT VOTING (0) | |
|----------------------------|------------|-------------------------|---------------------------|-----------|--------------------------|--------------------|------------------|
| Republicans (45 or 85%) | | Democrats (6 or 13%) | Republicans (8 or 15%) | | Democrats (40 or 87%) | Republicans (0) | Democrats (0) |
| Abraham | Hatch | Akaka | Chafee | Baucus | Kerrey | | |
| Ashcroft | Hatfield | Breaux | Cohen | Biden | Kerry | | |
| Bennett | Helms | Ford | Jeffords | Bingaman | Kohl | | |
| Bond | Hutchison | Heflin | Kassebaum | Boxer | Lautenberg | | |
| Brown | Inhofe | Inouye | Roth | Bradley | Leahy | | |
| Burns | Kempthorne | Johnston | Snowe | Bryan | Levin | | |
| Campbell | Kyl | | Specter | Bumpers | Lieberman | | |
| Coats | Lott | | Thompson | Byrd | Mikulski | | |
| Cochran | Lugar | | | Conrad | Moseley-Braun | | |
| Coverdell | Mack | | | Daschle | Moynihan | | |
| Craig | McCain | | | Dodd | Murray | | |
| D'Amato | McConnell | | | Dorgan | Nunn | | |
| DeWine | Murkowski | | | Exon | Pell | | |
| Dole | Nickles | | | Feingold | Pryor | | |
| Domenici | Pressler | | | Feinstein | Reid | | |
| Faircloth | Santorum | | | Glenn | Robb | | |
| Frist | Shelby | | | Graham | Rockefeller | | |
| Gorton | Simpson | | | Harkin | Sarbanes | | |
| Gramm | Smith | | | Hollings | Simon | | |
| Grams | Stevens | | | Kennedy | Wellstone | | |
| Grassley | Thomas | | | | | | |
| Gregg | Thurmond | | | | | | |
| | Warner | | | | | | |

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Buisiness
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

a total of 56 million acres of designated wilderness. ANWR oil production will result in a pinprick of development.

Thirty years ago, Congress approved oil development on Alaska's North Slope (Prudhoe Bay). The technology used in that development is archaic compared to what is available today. At the time, we heard the same ecological babble about how oil drilling and an oil pipeline in Alaska would cause irreparable damage that we are hearing today in the debate on ANWR. At extreme expense, sections of the North Slope pipeline were buried to meet the theories of some environmentalists that caribou would not cross under it. After 30 years of experience, we have found out that not a single dire prediction of the environmentalists has come true. The tiny footprint of development in Prudhoe Bay and from the pipeline proved helpful for wildlife where it had any effect at all. Nesting behavior did not change for waterfowl as predicted, nor did predators change their hunting patterns, despite the expectations of so many self-anointed experts. The species we heard most about before allowing that exploration, caribou, actually benefitted from the pipeline. The total number of caribou has increased by 600 percent. Instead of refusing to go near the pipeline, they like to use it for shade in the summer and for warmth in the winter. For Eskimos it has meant jobs and access to amenities that all other Americans have taken for granted for decades, and at the same time it has not proved harmful to the land that they love. The Native Americans in ANWR are consequently strongly in favor of oil production. They are familiar with the issues, they realize the benefits and they realize the claims of danger to the environment are nonsense. Damage did not occur with the old technology used in developing the North Slope, and it will certainly not occur using newer, more environmentally sensitive technology.

Our colleagues have grossly underestimated the value of developing ANWR. We remind them that the Prudhoe Bay field has provided 25 percent of America's oil for more than 20 years. To date, it has provided approximately 10 billion barrels of oil. Production is beginning to decline from this field and will soon end. America is now 55-percent dependent on foreign oil. Without Prudhoe Bay, it will be 75- to 80-percent dependent. At the time of the Arab oil embargo, the United States was only 30-percent dependent but it was nearly crippled by that embargo, and every Senator realizes that the Persian Gulf War, which cost the United States tens of billions of dollars to fight, had quite a bit to do with protecting its Mid-East oil supply. We also remind Senators that approximately half of the United States trade deficit comes from purchases of oil.

With these facts in mind, we inform our colleagues that the Department of Interior has estimated that the ANWR oil field that we want to open for exploration and production might have as much as 9.2 billion barrels of commercially recoverable oil. That amount is nearly equal to the amount that has come from the North Slope. No other United States' territory has as much potential for oil development. We are frankly sickened by the fact that Senators would deny Americans the right to have access to this potential oil field. Balance of trade considerations, the economic devastation that may come from future embargoes, the tragic loss of life that may come from future wars, and the 75,000 high-paying jobs that would be created to develop this oil field do not seem to concern them. They dismiss basic economic facts out of hand and cling to their theories of ecological harm despite the fact that 30 years of experience prove them wrong.

We do not dismiss facts so lightly. Senators can give us all the sanctimonious speeches about alternate energy and the need to conserve fuel that they want, but the fact remains that America is dependent on oil and much of that oil is foreign. Without ANWR, their speeches will not change the fact that our dependence on foreign oil will increase tremendously. ANWR is our best immediate option to lessen foreign oil dependence. We urge Senators to take that option by rejecting the Baucus amendment.

Those opposing the motion to table contended:

We have a moral obligation as Senators to balance the Federal budget instead of saddling future generations with our debt, but we also have a moral obligation to protect the environment and priceless natural resources for those generations. We refuse to accept the proposition that those two goals are contradictory. We have therefore proposed the Baucus amendment, which would prevent the rape of ANWR. ANWR is one of the last pristine wilderness areas in the world. It should not be sullied for a short-term oil fix for our economy (which will soon have to end its addiction to oil anyway) and for an even smaller tax revenue gain.

The Alaskan Wilderness is a place of outstanding wildlife, wilderness, and recreation. It is dotted by beautiful forests, dramatic peaks and glaciers, gentle foothills and undulating tundra. It is untamed--rich with caribou, polar bear, grizzly, wolves, musk oxen, Dall sheep, moose, and hundreds of thousands of birds. The coastal plain of ANWR is the last remaining region where the complete spectrum of arctic and subarctic ecosystems come together. It is the coastal plain region, which is the heart of ANWR, that our colleagues want to develop. They want to bring in oil rigs, roads, and miles of pipeline.

If oil is found, at most there will be enough to meet our country's total energy needs for only 6 months. When the oil is gone, the United States will be no less dependent on foreign sources of oil. Looking for oil in ANWR is thus a very short-term fix. The solutions to our energy problems must be found in conservation and renewable energy, not in desperate searches for more oil. Oil spills and the environmental degradation that are byproducts of oil development can do irreversible damage to ANWR's ecosystems. For instance, the Great Porcupine Caribou herd may not survive. Also, the culture of the Gwich'in Indians may be destroyed.

The fix for the budget will be even less. The revenue that will be gained will be at most \$1.3 billion, which is only a small fraction of the billions of dollars that are needed to balance the budget. Further, if Alaska wins in its suit to take 90 percent of the tax revenues from developing ANWR, this amount will fall to only \$130 million. As a deficit-reduction tool, ANWR is extremely weak.

Americans do not want to allow oil drilling in ANWR. They find it comforting to know that such an area still exists in the world,

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and they do not want it to be ruined on their watch. We urge our colleagues to honor the wishes of the American people.